

Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* in Iberia up to the Year 1000

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Few books have had a greater and more lasting influence on Mediterranean historiography than the *Chronicon* of Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3494)¹. Completed in 325/6², the Greek text was eventually lost. In the Eastern Mediterranean, though, Eusebius' text became famous as a source and a literary model, mainly through more manageable translations and versions, which often modified Eusebius' structure and chronology. The most important translation was made in Armenia, where the *Chronicon* was preserved by a twelfth-century manuscript that has survived in near-complete form³. The second part of the text, known as the *Chronici canones*, presenting very complex synchronic tables in which world events are chronologically organized, became famous in the West through a Latin translation completed and updated by Jerome in 380⁴. The first volume of Eusebius' work, known as *Chronographia*, was not translated by Jerome, and therefore was never known in the West. Jerome's translation has a rich manuscript tradition: its oldest witnesses date to less than a hundred years after Jerome. Despite the remarkable work of scholars such as Arnaud de Pontac⁵, Alfred Schöene⁶, Ludwig

¹ This work is financed with National Funds through FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology), through the project UIDB/00019/2020.

See, for all, Richard W. BURGESS and Michael KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, Vol. 1: *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

² Richard W. BURGESS, "The dates and editions of Eusebius' *Chronici canones* and *Historia ecclesiastica*", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 48 (2), 1979, p. 471-504. Cf. Alden A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1979.

³ Josef KARST (ed.), *Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen Übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung (*Eusebius Werke*, Bd. 5), 1911.

⁴ Rudolf HELM (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus; Hieronymi Chronicon* (1 Aufl. 1913), 3 Aufl. mit einer Vorbemerkung, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (*Eusebius Werke*, Bd. 7), 1984. Cf. Alden A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Chronicle of Eusebius*, p. 37–38, 67–73; Richard W. BURGESS, "Jerome explained: An introduction to his Chronicle and a guide to its use", *Ancient History Bulletin*, 16, 2002, p. 1–32; Benoît JEANJEAN and Bertrand LANÇON, *Saint-Jérôme, 'Chronique,' continuation de la 'Chronique' d'Eusèbe, années 326–378: suivie de quatre études sur les chroniques et chronographies dans l'Antiquité tardive (IVe–Ve siècles)*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004.

⁵ Arnaldus PONTAC, *Chronica trium illustrium auctorum Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis D. Hieronymo interprete [...]*, Burdigaliae: apud Simonem Millangium typographum regium, 1604.

⁶ Alfred SCHOENE, *Eusebi chonicorum libri duo. Eusebi chonicorum canonum quae supersunt*, Berolini: apud Weidmannos, 1866; *id.*, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1900.

Traube⁷, John Knight Fotheringham⁸, Rudolf Helm⁹, and Alden A. Mosshamer¹⁰, however, there is no recent edition of the text.

In contrast to late antique Italy or to the Carolingian centers of production, where the best copies of Eusebius/Jerome's text circulated between the fifth and the ninth centuries¹¹, late antique and early medieval Iberia bequeathed us not a single manuscript copy and made no contribution to the establishment of the text. However, in Iberia there is evidence of the circulation of the Latin translation of Eusebius' text from at least the second half of the fifth century and throughout the High Middle Ages, until at least the year 1000, in both Christian and Mozarabic milieux. The aim of this paper is to survey and discuss the testimonies of this circulation during those five centuries.

The Direct Tradition: Iberian Manuscripts

The Soriensis

The Soriensis¹² is the oldest known manuscript which transmitted the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome in Iberia¹³. The first reference to it comes in 1578, when it became part of the new library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. It was brought there from Soria, Spain (hence its name), by Jorge de Beteta y Cárdenas. Unfortunately, the Soriensis was lost in a fire in 1671¹⁴. All the authors who reported having seen it agreed that it was a

⁷ Ludwig TRAUBE, *Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis floriacensis fragmenta Leidensia Parisina Vaticana. Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*, Suppl. 1, Lugduni Batavorum: A. W. Sijthoff, 1902.

⁸ John Knight FOTHERINGHAM, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius Reproduced in Collotype*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

⁹ Rudolf HELM, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*.

¹⁰ Alden A. MOSSHAMMER, "Lucca Bibl. Capit. 490 and the manuscript tradition of Hieronymus' (Eusebius') Chronicle", *California studies in Classical Antiquity*, 8, 1975, p. 203-240

¹¹ The most important manuscripts are (family ω) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.II.2 (S.C. 20632), Part II, fols. 33r^o-145v^o, Italy, 5th c.; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1829, Verona, 8th c. ex.-9th c. inc.; (family δ) Paris, BN lat. 6400B, Part I, fols. 1-8, 285-290 + Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 110a + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1709B, fols. 34-35 + Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 306, 5th c. ex., Italy; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 495, Luxeuil, St.-Pierre Abbey, ca. 700; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Voss. Lat. 4^o 110, Micy, 9th c. med.; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1872, Tours, 9th c. ex.-10th c. inc.; (others) Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 219, Fleury, 7th century; Lucca, Chapter Library, 490, Lucca, 787 or 796.

¹² The best analysis is Francisco BAUTISTA, "Juan Páez de Castro, Juan Bautista Pérez, Jerónimo Zurita y dos misceláneas historiográficas de la España altomedieval", *Scriptorium*, 70, 2016, p. 3-68 (at p. 36-63). See also Rodrigo FURTADO, "Reassessing Spanish chronicle writing before 900: The tradition of compilation in Oviedo at the end of the ninth century", *The Medieval Chronicle*, 11, 2017, p. 171-194 (at p. 174-183).

¹³ Manuel C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Codices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro (C.S.I.C.), 1983, p. 20, indicates that there is a fragment of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome in MS Escorial, R.II.18, fols. 47r^o-47v^o. In fact, it is a fragment taken from Prosper's *Chronicon*, a. 1022-1048 (which Díaz, mistakenly, locates on fol. 48v^o).

¹⁴ Gregorio DE ANDRÉS, "Los códices visigóticos de Jorge de Beteta en la Biblioteca del Escorial", *Celtiberia*, 51, 1976, p. 101-107; Charles B. FAULHABER and Óscar PEREA RODRÍGUEZ, "¿Cuántos Cancioneros de Baena?", *eHumanista*, 31, 2015, p. 19-63 (at p. 30-34).

vetustissimus codex written in Visigothic script (*Gothicus*). The most recent datable text copied into the manuscript was the *Chronica Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum* (Díaz 519), composed after 883¹⁵; it must therefore have been copied at the end of the ninth century at the earliest. Gregorio de Andres asserted that it came from La Rioja, Spain, perhaps from Saint Martín de Albelda or San Millán de la Cogolla¹⁶.

The Soriensis contains the Iberian *Genealogiae biblicorum*, which was usually transmitted with the Beati, followed by the *Chronica Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum*, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius and the *additiones* by Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine (CPL 2258), Victor of Tunnuna (CPL 2260) and John of Biclár (CPL 2261; Díaz 42)¹⁷.

Ambrosio de Morales (1513–1591) used the Soriensis for the collation of the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, the *Laterculus regum Visigothorum* (CPL 1266, Díaz 214, 405) and the *Historia Wambae* (CPL 1262; Díaz 238-39, 264-65)¹⁸. García de Loaysa y Girón (1534–1599) also mentions it in his edition of Isidore of Seville's *Chronica*¹⁹, and Juan de Mariana (1536–1624) in MS London, Egerton, 1873. Finally, Juan Bautista Pérez Rupert (c. 1534–1597) repeatedly used the Soriensis in one of his working manuscripts, known as the Codex Segobrigensis, which is now only preserved in some old photos at the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás in Madrid²⁰. Pérez copied or collated many texts taken from the Soriensis in the Segobrigensis²¹.

However, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome's and Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronica*, transmitted by the Soriensis, were not copied: This is almost certainly because of the codex's length and complexity and the fact that these texts were not Iberian.

¹⁵ Cf. Juan GIL, *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX*, Turnhout: Brepols (CCCM 65), 2018, p. 116-134.

¹⁶ Gregorio DE ANDRÉS, "Los códices visigóticos".

¹⁷ Francisco BAUTISTA, "Juan Páez de Castro", p. 39-41.

¹⁸ See MS Madrid, BN 1346, fols. 11v^o, 14r^o, 16r^o, 18r^o, 25r^o. Cf. Diego CATALÁN, "Desenredando la maraña textual pelagiana (I)", *Revista de Filología Asturiana*, 3/4, 2005, p. 61-87.

¹⁹ García de LOAYSA Y GIRÓN, *Chronicon D. Isidori Archiep. Hisp. emendatum, scholiisque illustratum*, Taurini: apud Io. Baptistam Beuilaquam, 1593, p. 95, col. a.

²⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Fondos CCHS, AEHCaja I-III/Segorbe. Cf. Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarenensis chronicon*, Turnhout: Brepols (CCSL 173a), 2001, p. 23*-27*; José Carlos MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, *La Renotatio librorum domini Isidori de Braulio de Zaragoza († 651). Introducción, edición crítica y traducción*, Logroño: Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2002, p. 147-156.

²¹ Pérez copied Isidore's *Chronica* (CPL 1205; Díaz 112), the *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica* (Díaz 386), the *Chronica Adefonsi III ad Sebastianum*, some *Nomina regum Romanorum*, the *Historia Wambae* by Julian of Toledo, the *Ordo annorum mundi* (CPL 1266b) and the *Laterculus regum Visigothorum*, and collated Victor of Tunnuna's and John of Biclár's *chronica* and Isidore of Seville's *Historia*. See Joaquín Lorenzo VILLANUEVA, "Carta XXVI: Noticia del código de cronicones que copió el señor Perez de varios originales antiguos, el qual se conserva en el archivo de la Santa Iglesia de Segorbe", in: Jaime VILLANUEVA, Joaquín Lorenzo VILLANUEVA, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 t., Madrid, 1804, 3, p. 196-220.

The Alcobaciensis

The *Chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome and Prosper of Aquitaine were also transmitted in Iberia by a codex from the monastery of Alcobaça, Portugal, where it remained until the early seventeenth century. It was seen by Johannes Vasaëus (1511–1561), who borrowed it twice in 1552 and used it to write his *Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae*²². Jeronimo Román y Zamora (1536–1597) also reported seeing it²³. António Brandão (1584–1637) used it for his *Monarchia Lusitana* but noted its disappearance from the monastery in 1632²⁴.

The Alcobaciensis transmitted the *Chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper, Victor, John, Hydatius and Isidore, Isidore's *Historiae* [*Gothorum, Vandalorum, Sueuorum*], the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* (CPL 2259), the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* (Díaz 397) and the twelfth-century *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* (Díaz 886)²⁵, which were usually copied in manuscripts produced by scriptoria depending from the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra²⁶. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann thus argued that this codex was copied in the mid-twelfth century, probably in Santa Cruz or from a model from this monastery²⁷.

No one copied the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome transmitted by the Alcobaciensis, either. However, one recognizes here the same collection of texts that was also transmitted by the Soriensis: the *Chronica* by Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine, Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar.

Vasaëus' notes show that the Alcobaciensis transmitted three interpolations to Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon*:

*post Hier. chron. p. 159d] Hoc tempore edicto Augusti Cesaris es in tributum et census dari iubetur, ex quo era collecta est*²⁸.

²² Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae*, tomus prior, Salmanticae: excudebat Ioannes Iunta, 1552, fols. 10r^o, 76r^o, 81v^o-82r^o, 99r^o, 114r^o-v, 119r^o, 120v^o-121v^o.

²³ Jeronimo ROMÁN, *La Historia del religiosísimo y Real monesterio d'Alcobaça de la Orden de sant Bernardo* = Lisbon, BN, Pomb. 686, fol. 178r^o.

²⁴ Cf. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Alc. 116, fol. 310v^o.

²⁵ Cf. Aires A. NASCIMENTO, "Em busca dos códices alcobacenses perdidos", *Didaskalia*, 9 (2), 1979, p. 279-288.

²⁶ Pierre DAVID, "Annales Portugalenses Veteres", *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Paris: Livraria Portugália, 1947, p. 261-340; Rodrigo FURTADO, "Writing history in Portugal before 1200", *Journal of Medieval History*, 47 (2), 2021, p. 145-173 (at p. 163-166).

²⁷ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 86*-87*.

²⁸ Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 54r. Cf. Rodrigo FURTADO, "La «Crónica» de Eusebio-Jerónimo en Madrid, BHMV, Complutense 134 (fols. 2va-14vb)", in: Juan Francisco MESA SÁNZ (ed.), *Latinidad medieval hispánica*, Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017, p. 69-84 (at p. 70).

post p. 176d: Iacobus frater Ioannis apostoli iubente Herode rege capite truncatus occiditur. Petrus Apostolus ab Herode in carcerem trusus, et uinctus catenis duabus, mirabiliter ab angelo liberatur²⁹.

post p. 239g: Petrus Caesaraustae orator insignis docet³⁰.

These interpolations point to an Iberian context, perhaps later than the ninth century, when Compostela took on religious importance.

The Manuscript Seen by Schott

In July 12, 1583, Andreas Schott (1553–1638), who was a professor of Greek in Toledo between 1580 and 1583, saw the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome with the *additiones* of Prosper in the Cathedral library when Pérez was librarian there (1581–1591). Schott's notes were used by Arnaud de Pontac (c. 1530–1605) in his own edition of the *Chronicon* (1604). Pontac thought Schott's manuscript was the Alcobaciensis seen by Vasaeus³¹. However, he must have been wrong, unless the Alcobaciensis traveled to Toledo in 1583: the manuscript was seen in Alcobaça in 1589 by Román and before 1632 by Brandão³². In any case, the Alcobaciensis interpolation on the Spanish Era (*post* Hier. *chron.* p. 159d) was not copied into Schott's manuscript, which would seem to confirm that Pontac's identification is erroneous (unless Schott and Pontac did not notice it).

In his edition of Isidore's *Chronica*, Loaysa mentioned a manuscript containing the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* wrongly attributed to Sulpicius Severus³³. After Mommsen, Cardelle suggested that Loaysa had seen the manuscript handled by Schott in Toledo³⁴. She called it *Codex Toletanus*³⁵.

Francisco Bautista suggested that the manuscript seen by Schott and Loaysa should be identified with another codex instead, formerly held in the Capitular Archive of Burgo de Osma (Soria, Spain) and now lost. Pérez described it as a manuscript *non tamen ualde ueteri* transmitting the *Chronica* by Victor of Tunnuna, John of Biclar, Isidore of Seville and Hydatius (CPL 2263), the *Chronica Gallica a. 511*, the *Chronica Carthaginensia a. 525* (CPL 2258), the *Laterculus regum Vandalorum*, the *Chronica*

²⁹ Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 58r^o.

³⁰ Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 74v^o.

³¹ Arnaldus PONTAC, *Chronica*, p. 27.

³² Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 21*-22*, 87*.

³³ García LOAYSA Y GIRÓN, *Chronicon*, p. 85, §95; Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, 3 t., Berolini: apud Weidmanos (MGH AA 11), 1894, 2, 167.

³⁴ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 21*-22*; Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 9r; Joaquín Lorenzo VILLANUEVA, "Carta XXVI", p. 201.

³⁵ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 21*-22*.

Muzarabica a. 754, the *De uiris illustribus* by Isidore of Seville (CPL 1206) and Ildefonsus of Toledo (CPL 1252), the *Renotatio* by Braulio of Zaragoza (CPL1206o) and the lives of Ildefonsus and Julian de Toledo (CPL 1251–1252)³⁶. It was thus very similar to the Alcobaciensis indeed. Pérez did not mention the *Chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome and Prosper³⁷, but he did not give an exhaustive description of the codex either. If Bautista is right, Pérez and Schott may have seen the same manuscript: it transmitted the same collection copied in the Soriensis and the Alcobaciensis, with the *chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper of Aquitaine, Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar.

Concerning Eusebius/Jerome's text, Schott's manuscript also transmitted some interpolations of its own³⁸, including two of the interpolations copied in the Alcobaciensis (on St. James and St. Peter, and on Peter of Zaragoza)³⁹. These entries confirm the Iberian origin of the model upon which these copies depend.

Pontac's notes also cover the entire text of the *Chronicon*. Therefore, Schott's manuscript transmitted the full *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome.

Complutense 134

The only surviving Iberian manuscript containing Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* is MS Madrid, Biblioteca Marqués de Valdecilla-Universidade Complutense 134, copied after 1250⁴⁰. Cardelle de Hartmann argues that it must have been copied in Toledo, from a model from Santa Cruz of Coimbra. Indeed, on fol. 2r^ob–2v^oa, there is a copy of the *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* transmitted by the Alcobaciensis, and of a short *notitia* about the conquest of Coimbra in 1064 (Díaz 800). Although it is a later manuscript, Complutense 134 is our main witness for the earlier presence of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* in Iberia.

Based on the absence of references to this codex in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and on the coincidence of contents, in 1827 Fortunato de São Boaventura (1777–1844) argued that this codex was the Alcobaciensis, which had disappeared from

³⁶ Joaquín Lorenzo VILLANUEVA, “Carta XXVI”, p. 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 213, 215–216; Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 20*-21*.

³⁷ Francisco BAUTISTA, “Juan Páez de Castro”, p. 21–22.

³⁸ E.g. *post* p. 181c: Philippus apostolus Christi apud Hieropolim Asiae ciuitatem, dum Euuangelium populo nuntiaret, cruci affixus lapidibus opprimitur (Arnaldus PONTAC, *Chronica*, col. 567).

³⁹ *Id.*, *Chronica*, cols. 555–556 (on St. James' martyrdom and St. Peter's imprisonment); *Id.*, *Chronica*, (on Peter of Zaragoza). In this case, Pontac does not use the abbreviation he usually applies to Schott's manuscript (*Al*).

⁴⁰ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 27*-38*; Rodrigo FURTADO and Isabel VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO, “BH MSS 134”, *Catálogo de manuscritos medievales de la Biblioteca Histórica “Marqués de Valdecilla” (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2020, p. 643–649.

the monastery's library⁴¹. Cardelle de Hartmann solved the problem: this manuscript is listed in the 1523 inventory of the library of the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Alcalá, Spain⁴², a hundred years before Brandão had seen the Alcobaciensis in Portugal.

Mommsen also suggested that this was the codex seen by Schott⁴³. However, it was not: I have recently argued that Complutense 134, the Alcobaciensis and Schott's codex (considering the notes by Pontac) were three different manuscripts that depended on a common model.⁴⁴ Schott's manuscript at least still transmitted a complete version of the *Chronicon*. Despite declaring, in the index of fol. 2r^oa, that the first text copied in the manuscript is the *Cronica Eusebii Cesarensis de ueteri et nouo testamento* Complutense 134 does not transmit the full text.

In fact, Complutense 134 transmits only part of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome (fols. 2v^oa–14v^ob), its *continuatio* by Prosper of Aquitaine (fols. 14v^ob–17v^oa) and the *chronica* of Victor of Tunnuna (fols. 17v^oa–23r^oa) and John of Biclar (fols. 23r^ob–25v^ob). After this collection, one can read new epitomes of the *chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome (fols. 25v^ob–29v^ob) and Prosper (fols. 29v^ob–30r^ob). Finally, on fols. 42r^ob–47r^ob, there is a third epitome of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon*, now attributed to Isidore of Seville.

*Fols. 2v^oa–14v^ob: The Truncated Version of the Chronicon*⁴⁵

The title of the first version of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* is *Liber chronicorum a sanctissimo Eusebio Cesariensi [...] et a beatissimo Iheronimo presbytero de greco in latinum sermonem translatus* (fol. 2va). However, this is a truncated text: it does not begin as usual with Abraham, but with the death of Pompey (p. 156c, Helm). The preceding text was not copied. However, it transmits a text of high quality: it shares typical errors of the family δ (see note 11), and many variants common to MS Bern 219⁴⁶.

Although the Soriensis also transmitted the *Chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome and Prosper, the fact that no one subsequently copied them makes it harder to prove that they belonged to the same textual transmission. However, Prosper's *continuatio* gives us a clue: Pérez copied a list of consuls, covering the period 446–455, which he had found in

⁴¹ Fortunato de SÃO BOAVENTURA, *Historia chronologica e critica da Real Abbadia de Alcobaça*, Lisbon: Imprensa Régia, 1827, p. 70-72.

⁴² Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 14*-18*, 27*-38*.

⁴³ Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 2, p. 167.

⁴⁴ Rodrigo FURTADO, "La 'Crónica'", p. 76-79. Complutense 134 also has the Alcobaciensis interpolation on the Iberian era (Complutense 134, fol. 12v^ob). Cf. J. VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 54r.

⁴⁵ Rodrigo FURTADO, "La 'Crónica'", p. 69-84.

⁴⁶ Rodrigo FURTADO, "La 'Crónica'", p. 72-75.

manuscripto Gothico [= Soriensis] *in fine additionis Prosperi Aquitanici*⁴⁷. Now, these same *consularia* also appear in Complutense 134, fols. 17r^ob–v^oa, in exactly the same place: Mommsen edited them as *Continuatio Alcobaciensis*⁴⁸. This list confirms that the Soriensis and Complutense 134 transmitted the same text of Prosper’s *continuatio*; and, therefore, most probably the same text of Eusebius/Jerome’s *Chronicon* too. The *consularia* present the Vandal Geiseric as the successor of emperor Valentinian III (fol. 17r^ob)⁴⁹. It is thus possible that this updated version of Prosper’s text came from Africa.

Based mainly on Isidore’s *Historiae*, Bautista confirmed that these manuscripts depended on a common model that occupied a high position in the stemma (Bautista considered it to have been copied before the eighth century)⁵⁰. Regarding Victor of Tunnuna’s and John of Biclar’s *chronica*, Cardelle had also defended a similar position: these manuscripts depended on a model at least from the first half of the eighth century⁵¹. The *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper’s *continuatio* (updated by some *consularia* of the years 446–455), and the *Chronica* of Victor of Tunnuna and John of were already part of this model. The tradition split into two branches/collections (the model of the Soriensis and the model of the Alcobaciensis/Complutense 134/Schott’s manuscript) in the mid-eighth century in the Mozarabic territory.

Fols. 25v^ob–29v^ob: The Second Epitome

In Complutense 134, John’s *Chronicon* is followed by an apparently heterogeneous second collection of texts (fols. 25v^ob–42r^ob)⁵². The first work is an epitome of Eusebius/Jerome’s *Chronicon* (*Breuiatio cronice Eusebii Iheronimi*), whose text was entirely reorganized: in the first part (fols. 25v^ob–28v^ob), one finds the history of the Hebrews from Adam (who did not appear in the text of Eusebius/Jerome) to the conquest of Jerusalem in AD 70 (= Hier. *Chron.* 187a Helm); in the second part (fols. 28v^ob–29v^ob), the history of Rome up to the time of Valens/Valentinian I, including information

⁴⁷ Madrid, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Fondos CCHS, AEHCaja I/Segorbe, photos 191 and 192 (= fols. 117v^o and 118r^o).

⁴⁸ Theodor MOMMSEN (ed.), “Prosperi Tironis chronicon”, *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, 3 t., Berolini: apud Weidmanos (MGH AA 9), 1892, 1, p. 487 (*Continuatio Alcobaciensis*).

⁴⁹ Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 486–487.

⁵⁰ Francisco BAUSTISTA, “Juan Páez de Castro”, p. 62 (this common model is Bautista’s *d*).

⁵¹ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 76* (the common model is Cardelle’s *d*).

⁵² See Rodrigo FURTADO, “A collection of chronicles from Late Antique Spain: Madrid, Complutense 134, fols. 25vb–47vb. Content, structure and chronology”, in: David PANIAGUA and María Adelaida ANDRÉS-SÁNZ (eds.), *Formas de acceso al saber en la Antigüedad tardía y en la Alta Edad Media. La Transmisión del conocimiento dentro y fuera de la escuela*, Barcelona and Rome: Brepols, 2016, p. 227–258 (see the list of the texts at p. 231–237).

on Christian history. This is followed by another epitome of Prosper's *continuatio*, with only 16 entries, whose latest event is the death of Augustine (fol. 30r^a)⁵³: its model was the edition of Prosper's *Chronicon* made in 433. These texts were followed by a *laterculus* from the regency of Galla Placidia in 423 to the consulship of the western emperor Libius Severus in 462 (fol. 30ra)⁵⁴ and a reckoning beginning with Adam and ending with the western emperor Majorian (457–462) (fol. 30r^a)⁵⁵. The year 462 is thus the *terminus ante quem* for the set.

When it comes to the time of Constantine, the epitomizer added some information about the empress Helena and the invention of the Holy Cross, taken from Sulpicius Severus (fols. 29v^a–b)⁵⁶. The epitome of Prosper's *Chronicon* concedes special importance to Augustine, more than to any other ecclesiastical figure (fols. 30r^a–r^ob). However, it never refers to a single event related to Iberia. The *laterculus* which was added to the epitome of Prosper's *Chronicon* ends with Libius Severus, who never had effective control in Iberia. In fact, the characteristics of these epitomes make it clear that they were produced outside of Iberia.

Texts copied after these epitomes help to clarify their origin⁵⁷. After the epitome of Prosper's *Chronicon* is a set of texts dealing with the Parousia (fols. 30r^a–34v^b), comprising Quintus Julius Hilarianus' *De cursu temporum* (CPL 2280) and an anonymous *Expositio temporum* (CPL 2281), written around 470 to explicitly contest the *De cursu temporum* and its calculation of the date of Christ's return⁵⁸. The link between the *Expositio* and Hilarianus' text and the fact that Complutense 134 is the only known manuscript transmitting this *Expositio* make it likely that this work was purposely copied after the *De cursu temporum*, just as in Complutense 134.

Hilarianus' text was produced in Africa. It had a limited diffusion, though. Even in Africa, it was used only by the *De ratione paschae* (CPL 2296), written in 455⁵⁹. Bearing in mind that an African origin is compatible with the epitomes of Eusebius/Jerome's and Prosper's *Chronicon*, it is possible that the entire set was produced in the region where all those texts seem to have been written. It makes sense: starting with the epitome of

⁵³ Cf. Prosp. *Chron.* a. 1304.

⁵⁴ Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 491.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 373.

⁵⁶ Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 33.2–34.2. Cf. Paul. Nol. ep. 31.

⁵⁷ Rodrigo FURTADO, "A collection of chronicles", p. 237–243.

⁵⁸ Cécile CONDUCHÉ *et al.* (eds.), "Le *De cursu temporum* d'Hilarianus et sa réfutation (CPL 2280 et 2281): une querelle chronologique à la fin de l'Antiquité. Éditions, traduction, études par le 'Groupe hilarianiste'", *Recherches Augustiniennes et patristiques*, 37, 2013, p. 131–267 (of the *De cursu temporum* by Jean-Baptiste GUILLAUMIN, at p. 191–208; edition of the *Expositio temporum* by Émeline MARQUIS, at p. 251–255).

⁵⁹ Cf. Émeline MARQUIS, "Le *De cursu temporum*", p. 136–137.

Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon*, it can be read as an abbreviated history of the world from Adam to 462, ending with a discussion on the Parousia.

In Complutense 134, after the *Expositio temporum* there followed several short texts, not involved in this controversy: the most important are the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* which was composed in southern Gallia (fols. 34v^ob-39v^ob); an epitome of Hydatius' *Chronicon* (fols. 40r^ob-41v^oa), expanded in 568, possibly in Italy in the context of the Lombard invasion; and the *Chronicon a. 562* (CPL 2265), a short chronological list of events, which was composed in Iberia using the Spanish Era (fol. 41v^oa-v^ob)⁶⁰. Despite the fact that none of these texts are African or discuss the Parousia, they were copied in an apparently planned chronological sequence as continuations of the *Chronica* by Eusebius/Jerome and Prosper and of the texts discussing the Parousia: indeed, after the epitome of Eusebius/Jerome's and Prosper's *Chronica* and the rejection of the calculations of the Parousia, one can thus continue reading the history of the world until 568. This perhaps offers a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of this second collection in Iberia, in time for the local *Chronicon a. 562* to be added to it.

On fol. 42rb, the copyist of Complutense 134 stated *explicit liber chronicorum*. This means that, at some point, a collection of chronicles ended here. In Complutense 134, one finds only one *incipit liber chronicorum*, at the beginning of the first copy of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* (fol. 2v^oa): it seems, then, that in Complutense 134, the two collections mentioned above had once formed a *Liber chronicorum*⁶¹.

The Soriensis transmitted the first collection but it did not transmit the second: this means that this *Liber* had not yet been formed before the textual tradition divided in the mid-eighth century. In contrast, the Alcobaciensis and the codex from Burgo de Osma also transmitted at least the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* and Hydatius' *Chronicon*, which were part of the second collection. This confirms that the *Liber chronicorum* was certainly gathered only after the bifurcation of the textual tradition, becoming part of the branch that led to the Alcobaciensis, to the codex from Burgo de Osma (= Schott's codex?) and eventually to Complutense 134.

Fols. 42r^ob–47r^ob: The Third Epitome

After the *Liber chronicorum*, the scribe copied a *Chronografia sancti et doctoris summi Ysidori Ispalensis sedis episcopi* (fols. 42r^ob–47v^ob), known as the *Epitome*

⁶⁰ Rodrigo FURTADO, "A collection of chronicles", p. 244-245.

⁶¹ Rodrigo FURTADO, "A collection of chronicles", p. 249-251.

*Carthaginiensis*⁶² or *Chronica Carthaginiensia a. 525* (CPL 2258). This is the third epitome of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome copied in Complutense 134, now with additions from Hieronymus' *Vulgata*⁶³, Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (CPG 3495)⁶⁴ and Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronicon*⁶⁵. This is confirmed in the prologue of the text, where the epitomizer explains that he had used material taken *ab Eusebio Cesariense maxime, ab Iheronimo cetera, a Prospero* and from the *Hystoria autem ecclesiastica* (fol. 42r^b). He was interested in events of general and ecclesiastical history, especially in connection to Africa and Carthage.

The third epitome ends with the peace between Valentinian III and Geiseric in 442 (fol. 47v^a; Prosp. *Chron.* a. 1347), to which was added a new *subscriptio* in 523 (*nouissimum annum Trasamundi*), a reference to the Vandal conquest of Carthage in 439, and a *Laterculus regum Vandalorum et Alanorum* up to Belisarius' conquest in 534 (fol. 47v^b)⁶⁶. This is a new epitome certainly produced and/or completed in North Africa in a Vandal-Byzantine context.

This epitome is the first text of a new collection with the historical texts by Isidore of Seville: after the *Chronica Carthaginiensia a. 525*, it also includes Isidore's *Chronica* (fols. 47v^b–53r^a) and *Historiae* (fols. 53r^a–59r^b), completed by the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* (fols. 59v^a–68r^a). The compiler certainly wanted to gather an "Isidorian historical collection" and the *Chronica Carthaginiensia* was considered a part of it.

⁶² Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 493-497.

⁶³ *Id.*, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 494-495.

⁶⁴ Eus./Ruf. *HE* 1.28.255 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46r^a); 1.29.256 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46r^a); 2.2.268 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46v^a); 2.4 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46v^a); 2.9 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46v^b); 2.11 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46v^a); 2.15-16 (= Compl. 134, fol. 46v^b); 2.17 (= Compl. 134, fols. 46v^b-47r^a); 2.19 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^a-b); 2.20 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b).

⁶⁵ Prosp. *Chron.* a. 1198 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1203 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1204 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1206 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1207 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1230 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47rb); 1232 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1235 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1237 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1243 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1259 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1267 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47r^b); 1273 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1274 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1286 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1288 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1289 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1295 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1304 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 132 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1327 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1328 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1329 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1339 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1341 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a); 1347 (= Compl. 134, fol. 47v^a).

⁶⁶ Roland STEINACHER (ed.), *Der Laterculus regum Vandalorum et Alanorum. Eine afrikanische Ergaenzung der Chronik Prosper Tiros aus dem 6. Jahrhundert*. Staatspruefungsarbeit fuer den 62. Kurs am Institut fuer Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, Vienna: 2001.

This third epitome and the *Chronica Muzarabica* were also copied into the Alcobaciensis⁶⁷ and the codex from Burgo de Osma (the *Chronica Carthaginiensia* is called here *Chronographia Isidori Iunioris*)⁶⁸, but not the Soriensis.

The Indirect Tradition

*Hydatius' Chronicon*⁶⁹

Eusebius's *Chronicon* was known in Iberia long before the copy of the manuscripts I have been referring to. Soon after Jerome's translation, in the third quarter of the fifth century, there were copies of the text circulating in Iberia (*historia in aliquantis Hispaniarum prouinciis conscripta retinetur*; Hyd. *intr.*). At least one of these copies was in Aquae Flaviae (modern Chaves, Portugal): Hydatius knew Eusebius/Jerome's text, used it as a model and decided to update it with his own new chronicle, covering the events from 378 to 468/9. He most probably added one or several quires with his text to the codex that transmitted the *Chronicon*. The manuscript Berlin Phillipps 1829 presents exactly the same structure: Hydatius' text follows Eusebius/Jerome's (fols. 153r^o–172v^o), even imitating the layout of the folios⁷⁰. In 613, in the pseudo-Fredegarius collection, both texts are also copied together, as if the latter were a continuation of the former. Regarding Hydatius' text, Fredegarius and MS Phillipps 1829 depend on the same model. Phillipps 1829 is also close to the famous MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.II.2 (which does not transmit Hydatius). If Phillipps 1829 really depends on and twins Hydatius' codex, where his own *Chronicon* was appended to an exemplar of Eusebius/Jerome's, it is possible that the text of Eusebius/Jerome known by Hydatius was close to MSS Berlin Phillipps 1829 and Oxford, Auct. T.II.2.

Considering that in all the Iberian manuscripts I have mentioned above, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome is associated with Prosper's text and never with Hydatius', it is certain that the structure of those Iberian manuscripts was different from the one Hydatius handled. In fact, Hydatius did not know Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronicon*.

⁶⁷ Joannes VASAEUS, *Chronici rerum memorabilium*, fol. 4v^o.

⁶⁸ It was copied by Pérez: see Madrid, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Fondos CCHS, AEHCaja III/Segorbe, photo 545 = fol. 315r.

⁶⁹ Richard W. BURGESS (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; Jan-Markus KÖTTER and Carlo SCARDINO (eds.), *Chronik des Hydatius. Fortführung der spanischen Epitome*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019.

⁷⁰ Richard W. BURGESS, *The Chronicle of Hydatius*, p. 8, 11-13; Jan-Markus KÖTTER and Carlo SCARDINO, *Chronik des Hydatius*, p. 48-52.

Isidore of Seville

In his *Versus in bibliotheca* (Vers. 12; CPL 1212) Isidore mentions Eusebius and Orosius among the historians found in his library (*Carm.* 12). In fact, they stand as representatives of two different types of historiography also mentioned in Isidore's *Etymologiae*: annals/chronicles and histories – Eusebius (and Jerome) had written *annales* (*Etym.* 1.44.1–4). Isidore defines *chronica* as the Greek equivalent of the Latin *temporum series* (*Etym.* 5.28), and again Eusebius and Jerome are given as examples. In his *Chronica*, Isidore defines Eusebius/Jerome's work as a *chronicorum canonum multiplex historia* ("multiple history of chronological tables"; *Chron.* 1–2).

Isidore used Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* extensively as a source in his *Historia* and especially in his *Chronica*, which took it as its main model. However, Isidore did not rely only on Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* or simply update it, as Hydatius had done: he wrote a new text from scratch, using other authors too (including Hydatius, Prosper of Aquitaine, Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar)⁷¹. Perhaps inspired by Prosper, he also abandoned Eusebius' synchronic columns, preferring to arrange events into a chronological list in a single column. Isidore started with Adam (Eusebius had started with Abraham) and organized the *Chronica* by reigns, up to the Roman emperors.

Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* was also used in the *Etymologiae*. A few examples: Isidore's reference to Linus of Thebes, Zetus and Amphion (*Chron.* p. 48d, Helm ~ *Is. Or.* 3.16.1); the references to Phoroneus as the first legislator (*Chron.* p. 29e ~ *Or.* 5.1.1; 15.2.27); the origin of the toponym "Cecropia" (*Chron.* p. 41i ~ *Or.* 15.1.44); the myth of Phrixus and Helle (*Chron.* p. 50d ~ *Or.* 13.16.8); and the conquest of Samaria by Hyrcanus (*Chron.* p. 146h ~ *Or.* 15.1.25). Isidore made particularly extensive use of the *Chronicon* in book 9, on "man institutions"⁷² (*Chron.* p. 24a ~ *Or.* 9.2.6; *Chron.* p. 72a ~ *Or.* 9.2.53; *Chron.* p. 88l ~ *Or.* 9.2.54; *Chron.* p. 46i ~ *Or.* 9.2.55; *Chron.* p. 45f ~ *Or.* 9.2.60; *Chron.* p. 45g ~ *Or.* 9.2.67; *Chron.* p. 20e+51a ~ *Or.* 9.2.71; *Chron.* p. 44b ~ *Or.* 9.2.76; *Chron.* p. 52f ~ *Or.* 9.2.77; *Chron.* p. 45c ~ *Or.* 9.2.81; *Chron.* p. 38e ~ *Or.* 9.2.128; *Chron.* p. 156a ~ *Or.* 9.3.12).

The version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome used by Isidore may have depended on one of the copies circulating in Iberia in Hydatius' time. It is also possible that it had been coupled with Hydatius' text, as in Phillipps 1829, or in the pseudo-

⁷¹ José Carlos MARTÍN-IGLESIAS (ed.), *Isidori hispalensis chronica*, Turnhout: Brepols (CCSL 112), 2003, p. 25*-31*.

⁷² Marc REYDELLET (ed.), *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre IX. Les langues et les groupes sociaux*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984.

Fredegarius (which was contemporary to Isidore). However, this is unlikely. According to Burgess, archetype γ is the model of the text of Hydatius which was used by Isidore in Seville⁷³. The main surviving witness of this γ is Complutense 134, in which Hydatius' *Chronicon* does not follow Eusebius/Jerome's. In addition, considering the text of Hydatius copied in Complutense 134, γ was certainly produced in Italy, around 568, as it adds to Hydatius' text an account of the Lombards' arrival in the region. Therefore, the widespread version of Hydatius' *Chronicon* in Iberia depended not on a "pure-Iberian" text, but on this "foreign" testimony, in which Hydatius' *Chronicon* was no longer associated with Eusebius/Jerome's text⁷⁴.

In Seville, was Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* copied with Prosper's, instead? In the Iberian manuscripts, these texts were usually copied together. There is an important detail to note, though. Prosper's *Chronicon* consisted of two parts: an epitome of Eusebius/Jerome's chronicle and a continuation from 378. Now, in the Iberian manuscripts Prosper's text is incomplete. In Escorial R.II.18, there are still excerpts taken from both parts⁷⁵. However, as far as one can tell from an assessment of the texts, in the other Iberian manuscripts, only the *continuatio* was copied as a complement to Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon*. The typical structure of the Iberian manuscripts is Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronica* + Prosper of Aquitaine's *continuatio*. Isidore could not have used only this *continuatio*, because he used both parts of Prosper's text.

In his *De uiris illustribus*, Isidore also states that Victor of Tunnuna wrote a *Chronica a principio mundi* (*Vir. ill.* 25). However, no manuscript known today transmits Victor's complete *Chronicon*⁷⁶. Instead, Eusebius-Jerome's text and Prosper's half-*Chronicon* are usually associated with Victor's *Chronica* starting from 444. Therefore, either Isidore was wrong or the text we know today is a truncated version and its first part lost⁷⁷. Isidore knew and made extensive use of all of these texts; I do not think, therefore, that he could have misinterpreted Eusebius-Jerome's and Prosper's *chronica* (or an epitome of these texts) for the first part of Victor's *Chronica*, as Mommsen and Marc Reydellet suggested⁷⁸. Cardelle suggested that John of Biclar may have removed the first

⁷³ See Richard W. BURGESS, *The Chronicle of Hydatius*, p. 14-15; Jan-Markus KÖTTER and Carlo SCARDINO, *Chronik des Hydatius*, p. 49.

⁷⁴ See Rodrigo FURTADO, "A collection of chronicles", p. 241-242.

⁷⁵ Escorial, R.II.18, fol. 47r-v (= Prosp. *Chron.* a. 1022-1048) + fols. 48v^o-54v^o (= *Chron.* a. 1179-1354) + fols. 54v-55r (= *continuatio codicum Ouetensis et Reichnaviensis*; Th. MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 1, p. 488-490).

⁷⁶ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victor Tunnunensis*, p. 101*-102*, 108*.

⁷⁷ Rodrigo FURTADO, "Reassessing", p. 178.

⁷⁸ Theodor MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, 2, p. 179-180; Marc REYDELLET, "Les intentions idéologiques et politiques dans la *Chronique* d'Isidore de Séville", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 82, 1970, p. 363-400 (at p. 368-369).

part of Victor's text and replaced it with Eusebius-Jerome's and Prosper's⁷⁹. I suggest that this replacement must have been made only after Victor's complete *Chronica* had arrived in Seville. In fact, Seville is a good candidate for the place where the full collection was established: the *chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome, Prosper, Victor and John were known and used by Isidore; and they were copied together before the textual tradition of the collection divided into two branches, in the eighth century⁸⁰.

Still in Visigothic Iberia, by the end of the seventh century, Julian of Toledo had used the *Chronicon* in the *Antikeimena* (CPL 1261; Díaz 273), to answer *interrogatio* 9, on how long the Hebrews were in Egypt (*Chron.* p. 36c+23b, Helm)⁸¹. In Julian's *De comprobatione aetatis sextae* (CPL 1260; Díaz 266–268)⁸², the *Chronicon* is quoted in a long passage about king Herod (*Compr.* 1.24 = *Chron.* p. 160a, Helm)⁸³. These are the last known Visigothic texts to use the *Chronicon*.

After 711, in the North

After 711, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome was little read in Asturias. It seems to have been used in the *Ordo Romanorum regum* that came to be part of the *Chronica Albeldensia* (Díaz 514), compiled in Asturias after 883⁸⁴.

The *Ordo* is a list of the Roman kings and emperors, with short texts offering information about each. It was composed after the Muslims' arrival, acknowledging the end of the *regnum Gothorum* in 712. It is unlikely to have been composed in Asturias, where the date of 714 for the Muslim conquest was preferred; the years 711/12 were mainly used in the south.⁸⁵ In fact, the *Ordo*'s model may have been written in Toledo, in view of a notice shared with the *Historia Mahometis pseudopropheta* about the

⁷⁹ Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victor Tunnunensis*, p. 102*-106*.

⁸⁰ Rodrigo FURTADO, "Reassessing", p. 178.

⁸¹ José Carlos MARTÍN-IGLESIAS (ed.), *Iuliani Toletani episcopi Liber Anticemen. Elogium Ildefonsi. Feicis Toletani episcopi uita Iuliani. Iuliani Toletani fragmenta II. Pseudo-Iuliani Toletani episcopi Ordo annorum mundi*, Turnhout: Brepols (CCSL 115B), 2014, p. 15-682.

⁸² Jocelyn N. HILLGARTH (ed.), *Sancti Iuliani Toletanae sedis episcopi opera. Pars I*, Turnhout: Brepols (CCSL 115), 1976, p. 141-212.

⁸³ Cf. Júlio CAMPOS, "El *De comprobatione sextae aetatis libri tres* de San Julián de Toledo. (Sus fuentes, dependencias y originalidad)", *La Patrología Toledano-visigoda. XXVII Semana Española de Teología (Toledo, 25-29 sept. 1967)*, Madrid: CSIC-Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1970, p. 245-259.

⁸⁴ Juan GIL, *Chronica Hispana*, p. 435-484.

⁸⁵ Abilio BARBERO and Marcelo VIGIL, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica*, Barcelona: Crítica, 1978, p. 246-249; Juan GIL FERNÁNDEZ, "Judíos y cristianos en Hispania (s. VIII y IX)", *Hispania Sacra*, 31, 1978-1979, p. 9-88 (at p. 67-68); Thomas DESWARTE, *De la destruction a la restauration. L'idéologie du royaume d'Oviedo-León (VIIIe-XIe siècles)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2003, p. 150; Francisco BAUTISTA, "Breve historiografía: listas regias y anales en la Península Ibérica (siglos VII-XII)", *Talia dixit*, 4, 2009, p. 113-190 (at p. 126-127); Rodrigo FURTADO, "The *Chronica Prophetica* in MS Madrid, RAH Aem. 78", in: Lucio CRISTANTE and Vanni VERONESI (eds.), *Forme di accesso al sapere in età tardoantica e altomedievale VI*, Trieste: Università di Trieste, 2017, p. 75-100 (at p. 82).

foundation of the church of Santa Leocadia (*Alb.* 13.64)⁸⁶. According to Luís A. García Moreno, this *historia* was written in Andalusia at some point after 750⁸⁷. This may be a reasonable *terminus post quem* for the *Ordo*'s composition, too.

Two different versions of the *Ordo Romanorum regum* are transmitted by MSS Madrid, BN 1358, fols. 10r^a–14v^b, Escorial d.I.2, fols. 238v^a–239v^a and Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 39, fols. 247v^b–250v^a. Recently, Bautista argued that these versions document two stages of composition: the first version of the *Ordo* was still a working text, combining the *Laterculus regum et imperatorum ad Tiberium III* (whose only surviving copy was transmitted by the Soriensis) and Isidore's *Chronica*⁸⁸. According to Bautista, this version was composed in the Mozarabic region and then taken north, where it was integrated into the *Chronica Albeldensia*. MS Madrid, BN 1358 (San Juan Bautista de Corias, 1162-1178), transmits this version.

At some point after it was integrated into the *Chronica Albeldensia*, i.e. only after having arrived in Asturias, the *Ordo* was corrected with data taken from Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* (e.g. regarding the length of Vespasian's reign and the reference to the number of bishops in Nicaea; see *Chron.* p. 186, Helm; and p. 230h, Helm): this is the model included in Escorial d.I.2 (San Martín de Albelda, 974-976) and Madrid, RAH, cod. 39 (San Millán de la Cogolla, ²/₂ 11th c.). If this is so, there was a copy of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* in the north by the beginning of the tenth century.

There is a second indication of this presence. In Escorial d.I.2, at the beginning of this *Ordo Romanorum regum*, a text with the title *De Romulo et Remo* was copied into the margin of fol. 238v^a (= *Alb.* 13.1a; ed. Gil). It was taken almost verbatim from Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* (p. 84c Helm). This may reflect the revision method used for first version of the *Ordo*. In the margin of the manuscript, the corrector of the *Ordo* added excerpts taken from other sources, that could be inserted later, or not, into the text. Perhaps due to its length, Eusebius/Jerome's text on Romulus and Remus remained in the margin of Escorial d.I.2, never making it into the text.

⁸⁶ Eulog. *Apol.* 16 (J. GIL (ed.), *Scriptores Muzarabici saeculi VIII-XI*, 2 t., Turnhout: Brepols (CCCM 65A-B), 2020, 892, 1, p. 316–317). Cf. Manuel Cecilio DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, "Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en códices españoles", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 45, 1970, p. 150-159; Luis Antonio GARCÍA MORENO, "Elementos de tradición bizantina en dos *Vidas de Mahoma* mozárabes", in: Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN and Pedro BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA (eds.), *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica: de la Antigüedad Tardía a la Edad Moderna*, Madrid: CSIC, 2004, p. 247-271.

⁸⁷ Luis Antonio GARCÍA MORENO, "Elementos de tradición bizantina".

⁸⁸ Francisco BAUTISTA, "Dos notas sobre el ciclo historiográfico de Alfonso III", *Territorio, sociedad y poder*, 10, 2015, p. 5-16 (at p. 12-13). The *Laterculus regum et imperatorum ad Tiberium III* is preserved today in photos of the manuscript owned by Pérez (Madrid, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Fondos CCHS, AEHCaja I/Segorbe, photos 406-408 = fols. 245v^o-246v^o).

In any case, there is very little evidence that the *Chronicon* was used in the north after 711. Most likely, it did not circulate in Asturias until the arrival of the model of the Soriensis manuscript, which was known and used in the Christian zone.

After 711, in the South

In the south, from 733 until 754, at least one compiler intervened in the texts later copied in MS Complutense 134. In this manuscript, we can find two *subscriptiones* that were added, in 733 and in 742, to the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* (fol. 39v^ob) and to John of Biclar's *Chronicon* (f. 25v^ob). Both these *subscriptiones* are exclusive to the Complutense 134 branch. A similar *scriptio* indicating year 754 is found at the end of the *Chronica Muzarabica* in Complutense 134 (fol. 68r^a). These *subscriptiones* reveal that in the Mozarabic context there was at least one compiler working on and updating all these texts. If it was only one person, as José Eduardo López Pereira and Cardelle de Hartmann suggest⁸⁹, he may also have been responsible for adding the aforementioned *Liber chronicorum* to the Isidorian historical collection to which the *Chronica Muzarabica* belonged.

Eusebius/Jerome's and John of Biclar's *Chronica*, Isidore's *Historiae* and the *Chronica Muzarabica* were also used by the authors of the *Crónica del moro Rasis*⁹⁰ and the anonymous *Chronica pseudoisidoriana*⁹¹. The *Crónica del moro Rasis* is a translation of a text attributed to Aḥmad al-Rāzī (888–955). The text was originally written in Arabic but translated into Portuguese at the time of Denis I (1261–1325) and from Portuguese to Castilian between 1425 and 1430⁹². Only the latter translation has survived. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz studied the Latin sources of the part of the chronicle relating to the Roman empire and showed that, up to 378, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome was, by far, the main text used by al-Rāzī (in conjunction with the *Breuiarium* by Eutropius)⁹³.

The *Chronica pseudoisidriana* is a universal history that ends in 711. It is preserved in a *codex unicus* (Paris, BnF, lat. 6113, Part II, fols. 27r^o–49r^o) from the end of the twelfth

⁸⁹ José Eduardo López Pereira, *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana. Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, Caja España de inversiones and Archivo histórico diocesano (Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa, 127), 2009, p. 53; Carmen CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Victoris Tunnunensis*, p. 133*-135*.

⁹⁰ Diego CATALÁN and María Soledad DE ANDRÉS (eds.), *Crónica del moro Rasis: versión del Ajbār mulūk al-Andalus de Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī, 889-955; romanizada para el rey Don Dionís de Portugal hacia 1300 por Mahomad, Alarife, y Gil Pérez, clérigo de don Perianes Porçel*, Madrid: Gredos, 1975.

⁹¹ Juan GIL, *Scriptores Muzarabici*, 2, p. 1217-1264.

⁹² Diego CATALÁN-María Soledad DE ANDRÉS, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, p. xxv-xxviii.

⁹³ Claudio SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ, *Investigaciones sobre historiografía hispana medieval (siglos VIII al XII)*, Buenos Aires: Instituto de historia de España, 1967, p. 303-336.

century or the beginning of the thirteenth that transmits the twelfth-century Latin translation of a lost Arabic text, perhaps produced at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh⁹⁴.

Diego Catalán argued that these two texts depended on a common source (instead of the *Chronica pseudoisiriana* depending on the *Crónica del moro Rasis*, as argued by Sánchez Albornoz and Fernando González Muñoz)⁹⁵. This source was a lost “compilation or selection of notes” taken from Eutropius’ *Breuiarium*, Eusebius/Jerome’s and John of Biclar’s *chronica*, Isidore’s *Historia* and *Chronica maiora*. Ramón Menéndez Pidal⁹⁶ and Catalán argued that this compilation/selection of notes had been organized in the second half of the eighth or ninth century, thus becoming “the backbone of the two histories of al-Andalus”⁹⁷. Almost all of these texts (Eutropius’ *Breuiarium* excepted) were transmitted by the Complutense 134 collection. This cannot be a coincidence. It is certain that either our collection was used directly or at least was at the origin of the Arabic “compilation or selection of notes” used by those Mozarabic sources.

This use is confirmed by the *Universal History of Qayrawan*, an anonymous text in Arabic, preserved by a single manuscript (Raqqada, Musée national d’art islamique, MS 2003/2)⁹⁸, also known as *Tā’rīkh Yarūnim* (*The Chronicle of Jerome*)⁹⁹. However, it does not transmit our text: “Chronicle of Jerome” became a label for the type of text transmitted by the manuscript, confirming the *Chronicon* as a paradigm for Mediterranean chronicle production. Giorgio Levi della Vida argued that this manuscript was copied in Qayrawan in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth; Philip Roisse prefers the eleventh century.

⁹⁴ Juan GIL, *Scriptores Muzarabici*, 2, p. 1228-1229. See also the edition by Fernando GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ, *La Chronica Gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana* (ms. Paris BN 6113). *Edición crítica, traducción y estudio*, Noia: Toxosoutos, 2000.

⁹⁵ Diego CATALÁN and María Soledad DE ANDRÉS, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, p. xl-xliii. See C. SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ, *Investigaciones*, p. 334-335, 359-361; F. GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ, *La Chronica Gothorum Pseudo-Isidoriana*, p. 88-91. Juan Gil suggested that the *Chronica pseudoisidoriana* derives from a recomposition of al-Rāzī’s text (J. GIL, *Scriptores Muzarabici*, 2, p. 1220-1222).

⁹⁶ Ramón MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, “Sobre la *Crónica Pseudoisidoriana*”, *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 21-22, 1954, p. 5-15 (at p. 10-15).

⁹⁷ Diego CATALÁN and María de Soledad DE ANDRÉS, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, p. lx.

⁹⁸ Giorgio LEVI DELLA VIDA, “Un texte mozarabe d’histoire universelle”, *Études d’orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1, Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962, p. 175-183; Philippe ROISSE, “Redécouverte d’un important manuscrit ‘arabe chrétien’ occidental: le ms. Raqqada 2003/2 (olim Kairouan 120/829)”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 1, 2004, p. 279-285; Mayte PENELAS, “Novedades sobre el ‘Texto mozarabe de historia universal’ de Qayrawan”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 1, 2004, p. 143-161; *ead.*, “El Kitab Hurusiyyus y el ‘Texto mozarabe de historia universal’ de Qayrawan. Contenidos y filiación de dos crónicas árabes cristianas”, in: Cyrille AILLET, Mayte PENELAS and Philippe ROISSE (eds.), *¿Existe una identidad mozarabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos ix-xii)*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008, p. 135-157.

⁹⁹ Thomas E. BURMAN, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, ca. 1050-1200*, Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill, 1994, p. 96 n. 7.

Part of the *Universal History* is lost. The surviving text is a brief history of the world from King David to 711. The author was certainly a Christian, given his interest in Hebrew and Christian history. He used Iberian texts: one of its sources was the *Kitāb Hurūshyūsh* (*The Book of Orosius*), an Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae* [*aduersus paganos*], produced in Iberia in the late ninth century or early tenth. "Jerome" is mentioned twice¹⁰⁰, the first time (fol. 50^b) explicitly as a source for the kings of Babylon known to the Jews¹⁰¹. Still, the evidence is scarce.

According to Mayte Penelas, on fol. 48^r of the manuscript, there is information about the beginning of the Spanish Era¹⁰². This is also transmitted by the *Chronica pseudo-Isidoriana* (p. 5; ed. Gil), by the *Crónica del moro Rasis* (p. 169–170; ed. Catalán-Andrés) and by several Muslim authors¹⁰³. As mentioned above, a reference to the bronze tribute collected by Octavian is also in the version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome transmitted by the Alcobaciensis and by Complutense 134¹⁰⁴. However, the text in these manuscripts cannot be the source of the Mozarabic chronicles: they transmit a much simpler notice, not mentioning the paving of the Tiber with bronze plates, which appears in Muslim authors and in the Latin texts that depend on them. Most probably, Isidore's *Etymologiae* (5.36.4) or *De natura rerum* (6.7) were the source for all of these texts.

Finally, I add one last Iberian text from the tenth century which also used the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome: the *Kitāb tabaqāt al-atibbā' wa-l-hukama'* (*Book of Generations of Physicians and Sages*) by Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān ibn Juljul (b. 943), which was completed in 987¹⁰⁵. Fu'ād Sayyid, who edited Ibn Juljul's text, argued that he used an Arabic translation of the Eusebius/Jerome text, made in Córdoba at the time of al-Ḥakam II (961–976)¹⁰⁶. More recently, Penelas expressed doubt about this

¹⁰⁰ MS Raqqada 2003/2, fols. 50b, 11b (= ed. DELLA VIDA, fols. 9r, 17v).

¹⁰¹ See Giorgio LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Un texte mozarabe", p. 172 n. 40. See also M. PENELAS, "El Kitab Hurusiyyus", p. 5 n. 25.

¹⁰² Mayte PENELAS, "Novedades", p. 146-148.

¹⁰³ Giorgio LEVI DELLA VIDA, "The 'Bronze Era' in Moslem Spain", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 63 (3), 1943, p. 183-191.

¹⁰⁴ See note 45.

¹⁰⁵ Fu'ād SAYYID (ed.), *Les générations des médecins et des sages, par Ibn Gulgul al-Andalusī (Ṭabaqāt al-atibbā' wal-hukamā')*, al-Qahira, maṭba'ah al-mu'ahad, 1955. See Juan VERNET GINÉS, "Los médicos andaluces en el 'Libro de las Generaciones de Médicos', de Ibn Yūlyūl", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 5, 1968, p. 455-463 (at p. 450-51); Jose Antonio GARCÍA-JUNCEDA and Rafael RAMÓN GUERRERO, "La vida de Aristóteles de Ibn Yūlyūl", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia de la Filosofía y de la Ciencia*, 1984, p. 109-123.

¹⁰⁶ Fu'ād SAYYID, *Les générations des médecins*, p. 33-35.

hypothesis¹⁰⁷. In fact, there are no other references to this translation or other evidence for its use. It is perhaps best to assume that Ibn Juljul used the Latin version of the text.

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After its Latin translation by Jerome in 380, Eusebius' *Chronicon* was soon known in Iberia. In the third quarter of the fifth century, there were already several copies circulating there. One was in Gallaecia. Hydatius decided to continue it, using it as a model and adding his own *Chronicon* to the manuscript.

After Hydatius, however, there are no traces of the circulation of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* in Iberia for almost 150 years. But it must have circulated: in the first quarter of the seventh century, there was a copy in Isidore's library in Seville, and Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* was already considered one of the two main paradigms for writing history. Around 615, Isidore took it as his main model to write a new *chronicon* from scratch. He also wrote some *Historiae* (*Gothorum, Vandalorum, Sueuorum*) that used the text too.

I propose that in Seville, some copyist joined Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* with several other texts: the *continuatio* of Prosper's *Chronicon* and the texts gathered by Biclár, namely Victor of Tunnuna's *Chronicon* after 444 and John of Biclár's own *continuatio*. This was the first model of the Iberian Soriensis, Alcobaciensis and Complutense 134. The textual tradition of these texts split into two branches in the mid-eighth century: one branch is at the origin of the Soriensis manuscript; the other, that of the Alcobaciensis, Complutense 134 and Schott's/Burgo de Osma manuscript.

In this second branch, a *breuiatio* of the *Chronicon* by Eusebius/Jerome and that of Prosper of Aquitaine also circulated, updated by a short imperial *laterculus* and a reckoning of the years of the world up to 462. These epitomes were followed by an anti-eschatological collection, organized around the African text of Hilarianus' *De cursu temporum*, probably in 470, and by other minor historiographic texts, chiefly the *Chronica Gallica a. 511* and an Italian epitome of Hydatius' *Chronicon a. 568*. I suggest that all of these texts arrived in Iberia shortly after 568, in order to explain the inclusion into this second collection of a brief Iberian chronicle up to 562.

In North Africa, in the context of the Vandal kingdom, another epitome based again on the *Chronica* of Eusebius/Jerome and Prosper of Aquitaine was produced in the

¹⁰⁷ Mayte PENELAS, *Kitāb Hurūsiyūš (traducción árabe de las Historiae adversus paganos de Orosio)*, Madrid: CSIC, 2001, p. 38 n. 96.

fifth century, updated in 523 and around 534. At some point, this text reached Iberia, was attributed to Isidore of Seville and joined his *Chronica* and *Historiae*, as well as the *Chronica Muzarabica* a. 754 that continued Isidore's *Historiae*. A new Iberian collection was thus formed, bringing together all the historiographical work attributed to Isidore of Seville.

At an unknown date, but after the split of the textual tradition, the collection of Biclár-Seville and the collection started by the *breuiatio* of Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* formed a *Liber chronicorum* beginning with the complete *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome. Later, the historiographical collection attributed to Isidore (with a new epitome of Eusebius/Jerome's text) was added to this *Liber*, too. It is tempting to think that this compilation was the work of the same person, perhaps the anonymous author of the *Chronica Muzarabica*. If this is so, the year 754 can be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for these interventions.

In the Mozarabic world, texts from this collection were used by the historians who began writing in Arabic: the *Chronica* by John of Biclár, the *Historiae* by Isidore of Seville, the *Chronica Muzarabica* and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome were used by the *Crónica del moro Rasis* and the *Chronica pseudoisidoriana* (whose Arabic versions were composed in the tenth century and in the late tenth or early eleventh century, respectively); at least our *Chronicon* was also used by the Arabic *Universal History of Qayrawan* and the *Book of Generations of Physicians and Sages*.

The model of the Alcobaciensis and Complutense 134 manuscripts was not known in the North. However, it is certain that the Soriensis model reached the region. Up to the year 1000, there is also other evidence of the use of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius/Jerome in the North. It was used to correct the *Ordo Romanorum regum*, one of the texts that was integrated into the *Chronica Albeldensia*. It was also from Eusebius/Jerome's *Chronicon* that a short excerpt entitled *De Romulo et Remo* was copied into the margin of Escorial d.I.2, composed between 974 and 976 in San Martín de Albelda.